

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 055088

STADIS/////////////////////////////////
LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SENT ACTION SECSTATE 04 MAR 77

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1607

STADIS

LIMDIS

FOR EUR/RPE SWARTZ

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: ECE, CSCE, SENV, ETRN, ENRG, UR, UK
SUBJ: ECE - SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESSES ON ENVIRON-
MENT, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY - EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COMMENTS IN
ACCORDANCE WITH ECE DECISION B(XXXI)

1. UK MISSION OFFICER (ALEXANDER) HAS ADVISED THAT EC
FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING MARCH 8 WILL CONSIDER (A) WHETHER
TO EXPLOIT STANOVNIK SUGGESTIONS RE HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS IN
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E/ECE/911 ASCOUNTER TO SOVIET CONGRESS PROPOSAL AND (B)
WHETHER TO TRANSMIT COMMENTS ON SOVIET PROPOSAL TO STANOVNIK
PRIOR TO 32ND SESSION. ALEXANDER BELIEVES DECISION ON (A)
WILL ALMOST SURELY BE AFFIRMATIVE AND THAT AFFIRMATIVE
DECISION ON (B) ALSO LIKELY. DEPENDING ON MINISTERS'
DECISION, MATTER WILL BE FURTHER CONSIDERED BY COMMISSION
EXPERTS MEETING IN BRUSSELS MARCH 11 AND BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS
MEETING IN LONDON MARCH 15.

2. ALEXANDER HAS PROVIDED ON HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS

COPY OF OFFICIAL UK DRAFT FOR PROPOSED LETTER TO STANOVNIK IN ACCORDANCE WITH ECE DECISION B(XXXI). ALEXANDER MAY ATTEND MARCH 15 POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING AND WOULD APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS US MAY HAVE ON UK DRAFT PRIOR TO THAT DATE. IN VIEW OF SOVIET REP'S COMMENTS AT STANOVNIK LUNCHEON MARCH 3 RE CONSEQUENCES OF ECE FAILURE TO TAKE DECISION ON MATTER (REPORTED SEPTEL), ALEXANDER IS CONSIDERING RECOMMENDATION THAT LETTER BE STRENGTHENED WITH REGARD TO KEEPING ACTION WITHIN ECE.

3. ALEXANDER ESTIMATES THAT IF ALL DECISIONS ARE AFFIRMATIVE, LETTER TO STANOVNIK COULD EMERGE BY MARCH 18. HE BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO RESPOND PRIOR TO DESPATCH OF SECOND SOVIET LETTER, WHICH SOVIET REPS HAVE INDICATED WILL BE FORTHCOMING PRIOR TO 32ND SESSION. HIS RATIONALE IS THAT DESPATCH OF SECOND SOVIET LETTER WOULD GIVE ADDED PRETEXT FOR SOVIET CHARGES THAT THOSE NOT COMMENTING ARE NEGATIVE AND THAT NEED TO CONSIDER SUCH LETTER MIGHT RESULT IN FAILURE OF EC COUNTRIES TO AGREE ON RESPONSE PRIOR TO 32ND SESSION. ALEXANDER WOULD APPRECIATE US VIEWS ON THIS POINT AND ANY POSSIBLE INFORMATION CONCERNING LIKELIHOOD THAT US WILL ALSO SEND COMMENTS ON SOVIET PROPOSAL TO STANOVNIK.

4. TEXT OF UK DRAFT FOLLOWS:
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"DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENCY TO THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, MR J. STANOVNIK

IN DECISION B (XXXI), ADOPTED ON 9 APRIL 1976 DURING ITS 31ST PLENARY SESSION, THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE SUGGESTED THAT MEMBER GOVERNMENTS STUDY THOROUGHLY THE PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FOR THE "HOLDING OF ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESSES ON QUESTIONS OF CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT, DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT AND ENERGY". THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAS CARRIED OUT SUCH A STUDY. IN THE CONCLUDING STAGES OF OUR WORK, WE HAVE HAD THE BENEFIT OF SEEING TWO OF THE REPORTS WHICH YOU HAVE PREPARED FOR THE 32ND PLENARY SESSION, VIZ E/ECE/911 ON THE FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, AND E/ECE/917 ON THE WORK ALREADY EFFECTED OR UNDER WAY IN THE ECE IN THE FIELDS COVERED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL.

I NOW HAVE THE HONOUR TO FORWARD TO YOU ON BEHALF OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY A SUMMARY OF THE VIEWS OF THE COMMUNITY IN REGARD TO THE PROPOSAL. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF THIS LETTER AND ITS ENCLOSURE COULD BE CIRCULATED TO OTHER MEMBER GOVERNMENTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH OPERATIVE PARA 2 OF DECISION B (XXXI).

AT THE 31ST PLENARY SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE. VICE-MINISTER RODIONOV, SUBMITTED A PROPOSAL FOR THE HOLDING OF ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESSES ON QUESTIONS OF CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF THE PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT, DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT AND ENERGY. HE DESCRIBED THE DEVELOPMENT OF WIDER CO-OPERATION IN THESE FIELDS AS PARTICULARLY PRESSING.

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY FULLY AGREES THAT THE FIELDS COVERED BY THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AND THAT THE PROBLEMS RAISED CANNOT BE COVERED SOLELY BY MEASURES TAKEN WITHIN A NATIONAL FRAMEWORK. THEIR SOLUTION REQUIRES UNILATERAL, BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ACTION. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THESE TOPICS, AMONG OTHERS, WERE THE SUBJECT OF DETAILED DISCUSSION DURING THE THIRD PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE AND THAT THEY FIGURE SO PROMINENTLY IN THE FINAL ACT ITSELF. THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY ATTACHES A HIGH PRIORITY TO THE PURSUIT OF CO-OPERATION IN THESE FIELDS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT. AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LUXEMBOURG, SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, STATED IN REPLY TO VICE-MINISTER RODIONOV AT THE 31ST SESSION, "WE HAVE NOTED WITH CONSIDERABLE INTEREST THIS INITIATIVE WHICH MANIFESTS THE WILL OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO PURSUE ACTIVELY THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI, NOTABLY ON A MULTILATERAL LEVEL AND IN PARTICULAR IN THREE SECTORS - ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY - IN WHICH THE FINAL ACT RECOGNIZED THAT THE ECE WAS PARTICULARLY QUALIFIED".

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY REMAINS OF THE VIEW THAT THE ROLE OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE IN THESE MATTERS IS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE. IN THE WORDS USED BY THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE INPUTTING FORWARD HIS GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL, THE THREE FIELDS OF CO-OPERATION "FALL UNDER THE TERMS OF REFERENCE" OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE. THE FINAL ACT ITSELF IS UNAMBIGUOUS ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSION. IT EXPRESSES THE WISH OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES TO "TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POSSIBILITIES OFFERED BY RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, IN PARTICULAR BY THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, FOR GIVING EFFECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE". IT PROVIDES FOR UNILATERAL AND BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION AS WELL AS FOR MULTILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION "BY MEETINGS OF EXPERTS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES, AND ALSO IN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE". THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AGREES WITH THE STATEMENT MADE BY

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THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AT LAST YEAR'S PLENARY SESSION AND QUOTED IN HIS REPORT E/ECE/911, THAT "A FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE AND ITS METICULOUS INTEGRATION WITHIN THE EXISTING ECE STRUCTURE AND WORK PROGRAMMES ARE TODAY A FOREMOST TASK AND A BASIS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN EAST/WEST CO-OPERATION".

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAS CARRIED OUT A STUDY OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE TOPICS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FOR DISCUSSION AT THE PROPOSED CONGRESSES ARE ALREADY COVERED BY THE EXISTING WORK PROGRAMME OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE. IN PURSUING THIS STUDY THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAVE BEEN HANDICAPPED BY LACK OF DETAILED GUIDANCE AS TO THE PRECISE VIEWS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE TOPICS WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED. NONETHELESS, ON THE BASIS OF THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION, CERTAIN BROAD CONCLUSIONS CAN BE REACHED. IN THE CASE OF ENVIRONMENT, ALL THE FIELDS PROPOSED ALREADY FORM PART OF THE WORK PROGRAMME OF THE ECE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MARINE POLLUTION, ALTHOUGH LAND-BASED MARINE POLLUTION HAS BEEN DISCUSSED. AS REGARDS ENERGY, VIRTUALLY THE WHOLE RANGE OF ENERGY PROBLEMS ENVISAGED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ARE ALREADY UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE RELEVANT PRINCIPAL SUBSIDIARY BODIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, NOTABLY THOSE ON COAL, GAS AND ELECTRIC POWER, OR COULD VERY EASILY BE ADDED TO THEIR AGENDAS. IN THE FIELD OF TRANSPORT, ALL ASPECTS OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL ARE COVERED BY THE WORK PROGRAMMES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR EUROPE EXCEPT FOR INTERNATIONAL OCEAN SHIPPING. THE LATTER SUBJECT, LIKE MARINE POLLUTION, WOULD SEEM TO HAVE GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS WHICH COULD HARDLY BE DEALT WITH ADEQUATELY IN SUCH A RELATIVELY LIMITED FORUM AS THAT PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

BROADLY SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS ARE SUGGESTED BY THE ANALYSIS IN THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S OWN STUDY, E/ECE/917.

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IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IN ITS LETTER TO THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF 29 DECEMBER 1976, THAT "IN DULY ASSESSING THE USEFULNESS OF THE WORK CARRIED OUT IN THE THREE ABOVE-MENTIONED FIELDS BY EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, CHIEFLY THE ECE, ONE CANNOT FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE FAR MORE MEASURING UP TO THE TASK OF INTENSIFYING AND BROADENING INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AT A QUALITATIVELY NEW LEVEL." THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, HOWEVER, REMAINS, IN THE WORDS OF RESOLUTION 1 (XXXI), "CONVINCED OF THE VALUE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION AS AN IMPORTANT FORUM FOR BROAD CO-OPERATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES IN THE ECE REGION". THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY INTENDS, AS IT IS CALLED UPON TO DO IN THE SAME RESOLUTION, "TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE POTENTIAL OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR

EUROPE AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR DEVELOPING MULTILATERAL CO-OPERATION" AMONG THE GOVERNMENTS OF MEMBER COUNTRIES. THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY IS CONFIDENT THAT THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE IS CAPABLE OF MEASURING UP TO THE CHALLENGES WHICH IT FACES. IN ASSISTING THE COMMISSION TO FULFILL ITS POTENTIAL, THE COMMUNITY WILL BE FULFILLING THE MANDATE OF THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI.

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY ATTACHES OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE TO DETAILED PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN FIELDS SUCH AS THOSE COVERED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS. IN THE VIEW OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS IS IN GENERAL LIKELY TO BE MOST RAPIDLY ACHIEVED AND MOST SOLIDLY BASED WHEN IT IS DERIVED FROM CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG EXPERTS AT SYMPOSIA AND MEETINGS SUCH AS THOSE WHICH THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE HAS BEEN ORGANIZING THROUGHOUT ITS EXISTENCE. THIS IS RECOGNIZED IN THE WORDING OF THE FINAL ACT. HOWEVER, THERE MAY BE SPECIFIC CASES WHERE THIS EXISTING CO-OPERATION COULD BE ENHANCED BY A MEETING WITHIN THE SAME FRAMEWORK BUT AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN CUSTOMARY. IN THIS CONNECTION THE REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, E/ECE/911, IS OF GREAT INTEREST. THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY IS IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH MUCH OF WHAT IS SAID IN PART IV OF THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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REPORT, NOTABLY WITH THE VIEW THAT "HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS ARE NOT AN END IN THEMSELVES"; THAT THEY WOULD REQUIRE "A PRECISE AND CAREFULLY PREPARED AGENDA"; AND THAT "THEY WOULD HAVE MEANING AND PURPOSE ONLY IF THE SUBJECT-MATTER REQUIRED SUCH A LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AND IF THEY HELD PROMISE OF IMPORTANT DECISIONS".

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAS NOT YET COMPLETED ITS STUDY OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT, NOR DECIDED WHICH SUBJECT, OR SUBJECTS, IF ANY, WOULD DERIVE REAL BENEFIT FROM DISCUSSION AT A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING. HOWEVER IT IS CLEAR THAT ANY HIGH-LEVEL MEETING FLOWING FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT COULD ONLY BE A MEETING HELD WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE AND UNDER ITS AUTHORITY AND THAT THE NORMAL VENUE FOR SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE GENEVA. THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WOULD NOT REGARD SUCH A MEETING AS CONSTITUTING, OR AS BEING INTENDED TO CREATE, A SPECIAL OR INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL FORUM. IT WOULD BE A UN CONFERENCE, A DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORMAL WORK OF THE ECE WHOSE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO GIVE ADDITIONAL IMPETUS TO THAT WORK.

THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY LOOK FORWARD TO PARTICIPATING IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THESE IMPORTANT MATTERS DURING THE 32ND PLENARY SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE." CATTO

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